1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

their summer dwellings, — the Maritime Koryak pray to the ladder not to let any strangers or ill-meaning people enter the house. In the fall of 1900, when I arrived at the winter village of Paren, it was deserted. The inhabitants were still in their summer houses. I wished to inspect the winter houses; but my interpreter (a Russianized Koryak) and Cossack were afraid to descend into them until I had gone in and come back unmolested. From time to time the ladder is smeared with seal-blubber and other fat.

Fig. 11. Model of a House Ladder.

Sacred Arrows. — Freqently an arrow, given as an offering after a wolf has been killed, is found among the guardians of the fireplace. Such an arrow (l'ʷlhun) is either driven into the ground at its butt-end, or it is tied to a pointed stick, which is driven into the ground, near the hearth. One of these sacred arrows is shown in Fig. 12. I obtained it in the Talovka settlement. It was completely blackened from the soot of the hearth.

The Sun-Worm. — The doll shown in Fig. 13 represents a guardian of women. It is hung up in the family sleeping-tent, and protects lying-in women, and also prevents sterility. It is

Fig. 12 (ɣiłɬ). Sacred Arrow. Length, 66 cm.

called The-Vivifying-One (Yeytele'ʟičiča'n). The women of the village of Kamenskoye, where I found this guardian, told me that a "worm" is sewed up in it. This "worm" is believed to fall down from the sky into the bag which women carry on their backs while digging roots. It then becomes the guardian of the woman into whose bag it falls. They call it Sun-Worm (Tiyk-Eli'ggi). I think this belief may be explained by the fact that in the spring caterpillars fall from the trees, and thus sometimes get into the baskets that women wear on the back while walking in the woods, picking dry branches, and digging up roots.

Fig. 13 (ɣiłɬ). Woman's Guardian. Length of doll, 11 cm.

Special House-Guardians. — Some charms are called House-Kamak-Face (Yaya'-kamak-lō'), and represent special house-guardians. Two of these are represented in Fig. 14. The one marked *a* I got in the village of Kuel, and the other in the village of Paren. As the guardian of the house is regarded as the sacred board of the fire-making implements, it would seem that House-Kamak-Face is a supplementary protector of the dwelling, but not of the hearth. The guardian of the dwelling (Yaya'-Kamak-lō) is placed in the shrine (op-yan) and fed on different occasions.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

that the summer and fall hunting seasons were over, and was intended to influence the deity so that the hunt of the following year would also prove successful, and that the winter would pass without sickness, or visitation of the kalau. This is Steller's interpretation of this festival, to which he devotes only a few lines. Krasheninnikoff also describes how a grass whale filled with blubber and other kinds of provisions is made. It was tied to the back of one of the women, and at a certain moment those who participated in the celebration threw themselves upon it, tore it up, and ate it, apparently in imitation of a successful hunt.

Parry[1] tells, that, among the Central Eskimo, the capture of a whale is celebrated by a great festival. According to his brief description, the whale is hauled inside of a stone enclosure about five feet high. Several men flense it, and throw the pieces of meat over the stone wall. The crowd which stands on the other side catch the flying pieces; while the women, who are inside, sing, forming a circle, in the centre of which are the whale and the men who carve it.

The killing of a whale was also celebrated by the Aleut with a feast, with beating of drums, dances, and masks. The dances had a mystic significance. Some of the men were dressed in their most showy attire; while others danced naked, wearing large wooden masks, which reached to their shoulders, and represented various sea-animals.[2]

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak have no festivals, and adds,[3] that the Maritime Koryak observe their festivals at the same time as the Kamchadal, but that they are as little capable of explaining the meaning of their ceremonies as the Kamchadal. Unfortunately Krasheninnikoff does not offer any, not even a superficial, description of the festivals of the Maritime Koryak, which would be interesting for the purpose of comparing the rites of a previous period with those observed by me.

The essential part of the whale festival is based on the conception that the whale killed has come on a visit to the village; that it is staying for some time, during which it is treated with great respect; that it then returns to the sea to repeat its visit the following year; that it will induce its relatives to come along, telling them of the hospitable reception that has been accorded to it. According to the Koryak ideas, the whales, like all other animals, constitute one tribe, or rather family, of related individuals, who live in villages, like the Koryak. They avenge the murder of one of their number, and are grateful for kindnesses that they may have received.

The whale festival is not a family festival, but a communal one. All the inhabitants of the village participate in it; but the owner of the skin boat by whose crew the whale has been killed, acts as the host, and takes charge of the festival. He invites his neighbors; and the celebration, which lasts a few days, takes place in his own house or in the largest one of the village.

[1] Parry, II, p. 362. [2] Dall, p. 139. [3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 217.

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

On the day when the bear is equipped for the home journey, the Maritime Koryak prepare puddings for it, travelling-provisions, just as has been described in connection with the whale festival. They plait a grass bag, and put the puddings into it. The Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer for the bear, cook all the meat, and pack it in a grass bag. The bear-skin is filled with grass, taken out and carried around the house, following the course of the sun, and then sent away in the direction of the rising sun. The fact that the bear is sent toward morning dawn indicates that the Koryak consider the spirit of the bear as benevolent. The stuffed bear and the bag are put on the platform of the storehouse; and after a few days the skin is taken back to be tanned, and the puddings are eaten.

The Wolf Festival. — After having killed a wolf, the Maritime Koryak take off its skin, together with the head, just as they proceed with the bear; then they place near the hearth a pointed stick, and tie an arrow, called i"lhun or e"lgoi, to it, or drive the arrow into the ground at its butt-end.[1] One of the men puts on the wolf's skin and walks around the hearth, while another member of the family beats the drum. The wolf festival is called e"lhō'gičăm; that is, "wolf-stick festival."

The meaning of this ceremony is obscure. I have been unable to get any explanation from the Koryak with reference to it. "Our forefathers did this way," is all they say. I have found no direct indications of the existence of totemism among the Koryak; but the wearing of the skin of the wolf and of the bear during these festivals may be compared to certain features of totemistic festivals, in which some members of the family or clan represent the totem by putting on its skin.

The wolf festival differs from the bear festival in the absence of the equipment for the home journey. The reason is this, that the bear is sent home with much ceremony, to secure successful bear-hunting in the future, bear's meat being considered a delicacy, while the festival serves at the same time to protect the people from the wrath of the slain animal and its relatives. The wolf, on the other hand, does not serve as food, but is only a danger to the traveller in the desert. He is dangerous, not in his visible, animal state, — for the northern wolves, as a rule, are afraid of men, — but in his invisible, anthropomorphic form. According to the Koryak conception, the wolf is a rich reindeer-owner and the powerful master of the tundra. A traveller who has lost his way may stray into a settlement of wolves, and become their prey. The wolves avenge themselves particularly on those that hunt them.[2] The Reindeer Koryak have still more reason to fear wolves, since their herds are always exposed to their dangerous attacks. According to the conception of the Reindeer Koryak, the wolf is a powerful shaman, and he is regarded as an evil spirit hostile to the reindeer, and roaming all over the earth. In

[1] See p. 43. [2] Tale 84.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

796 825 tales he is not called by his usual name, E'gɪ̨ăm, but Umya'ĭlhm ("broad-soled one") or Na'ĭămosa'n ("one who keeps himself outside").

After having killed a wolf, the Reindeer Koryak slaughter a reindeer, cut off its head, and put its body, with that of the killed wolf, on a platform raised on posts. The reindeer-head is placed so as to face eastward. It is a sacrifice to The-One-on-High, who is thus asked not to permit the wolf to attack the herd. Special food is prepared in the evening, and the wolf is fed. The night is spent without sleep, in beating the drum and dancing to entertain the wolf, lest his relatives come and take revenge. Beating the drum, and addressing themselves to the wolf, the people say, "Be well!" (Nɪme'leu gatva'ĭnvota!) and addressing The-One-on-High, they say, "Be good, do not make the wolf bad!"

Practices in Connection with Fox-Hunting. — When a captured fox is brought into the house, it is soothed like a child. While pulling off its skin, and cutting the joints of the legs, they say in a pitiful tone, "Eh, what a lean one!" to which some one replies for the fox, "I will soon send you a gray fox." A grass mat is put around the body like a coat. The male fox is given a little wooden knife, and the female a thimble and needle-case; then it is placed on the platform of the storehouse.

Sacrifices.

782 The sacrifices offered by the Koryak to the supreme and other supernatural beings may be divided into two classes, — bloody and bloodless ones. It is remarkable, that, among the tribes of the northwestern part of North America, we find only bloodless offerings to the deities, consisting of food, ornaments, and other trifling gifts.[1] These sacrifices, however, play a secondary part. Among the Eskimo, the most effective means of guarding against misfortune consists in the observance of various taboos; and a frank confession by the person who transgressed a taboo[2] serves as the best propitiatory measure. Among the Indians, purification, prayers, and incantations are the most effective means of gaining the good-will of the supernatural powers. Of course we find all these among the Koryak also; but sacrifices play the most conspicuous part in their religious life. It seems justifiable to assume that bloody sacrifices are connected with the pastoral life of the Reindeer tribes, just as we find the same custom among the cattle-raising tribes of Siberia generally, and among the Reindeer peoples in the north of Siberia, as the Samoyed and Ostyak. It is probably not a mere accident that in the myths recorded by me, mostly offerings of reindeer are mentioned;[3] but at present

[1] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, pp. 129, 146; Teit, pp. 344, 345; Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 29.

[2] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 147.

[3] A dog-sacrifice is mentioned in but one tale, No. 92. It should be noted that the tales do not mention all sacrifices to evil spirits (kalau).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

313 off from the heads of the rivers in the spring, when the ice breaks up, by the strong current. The ice at the upper course of the river presses in its movement on the ice farther down the course, which has not yet broken up, and forms ice-packs, which raise considerably the level of the water, and widen the river-bed. When the stationary ice is unable to withstand the pressure longer, it breaks with a crash; the ice-floes uproot the trees growing on the banks, and they are washed away by the rapid current, and thrown out on the bank somewhere below, after the river has assumed its former level.

It often happens that the ice-floes will tear from the bank a piece of solid earth with the trees growing on it, and carry it off to the sea. I had an opportunity to observe such floating islands at the time when the ice was breaking up on the Kolyma River. Such floating piles are carried from place to place by the ice-floes; so that, at the mouth of the river, one can find trunks which have been travelling for several years from the head of the river to its mouth.

● 825 Fauna. — From an ethnographical standpoint we are interested in only those species of animals which bear some relation to human activity. With reference to those we shall speak at greater detail in the chapters on domestic animals and the trades. We will confine ourselves here to a few general remarks. The land-mammal fauna are represented by a small number of species.

Slunin enumerates[1] forty-three species of land-mammals in the Okhotsk-Kamchatka region; but from this number those species are to be excluded which are to be found in the southern part of the Okhotsk region, and not in the Koryak territory, such as *Meles taxus* Sch., *Mustella Siberica* Pall., *Canis alpinus* Pall., *Cervus alces* L., *Cervus capreolis* L., *Moschus Moschiferos*.

Of the sea-mammals, Slunin enumerates[2] twenty-three species; but in this number are included *Rutina borealis* Stell., which is extinct, and *Enchydris marina* Schr., which is not to be found at present in the Koryak seas. Out of the nine varieties of whales enumerated by Slunin, perhaps four are to be met with at present.

According to Professor Allen,[3] the mammal fauna of eastern Siberia, including the Koryak territory from which the zoölogical collection for the American Museum was mainly obtained by the Jesup Expedition, "so far as genera are concerned, consists of exclusively holarctic types, represented in both arctic America and in Eurasia, but in more or less differentiated forms on the two continental areas. A close relationship between the forms of boreal mammals inhabiting the two continents is beyond question, — a relationship so intimate that it could only have been brought about by a former land bridge connecting the two areas."

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[1] Slunin, II. pp. 84–86. [2] Ibid., II, p. 86.

[3] Allen, Report on the Mammals collected in Northeastern Siberia by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIX, New York, 1903), p. 182.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

It is hardly necessary to say that the species of fish caught by the Koryak are the same as those on the American side of Bering Sea, but they differ from those of the arctic rivers west of the Stanovoi Ridge. There we find mainly the *Coregonidæ*, which ascend the rivers from the polar sea, while in the Koryak waters the *Salmonidæ* (especially of the genus *Oncorhynchus*) are of greatest importance.

Influence of Climatic Conditions upon Progress. — From this brief description of the nature of the region, it may be seen to what extent its form of culture depends upon surrounding conditions. It can hardly be expected that under such a climate the manner of existence can be materially changed. In the far north, material culture depends more upon the degree of latitude than upon human efforts. Agriculture is impossible, because the earth does not thaw out to a sufficient depth; the soil is mostly marshy; and the temperature is too low for the growth of cereals.

In 1901 there were in Gishiginsk only seventy-eight days without frosts, which is not a sufficiently long period for the growth of cereals. This time is in reality still more curtailed, since the growth of cereals does not begin, or stops if already begun, till the temperature is somewhat above the freezing-point. Botanists regard the temperature above 6° C. as a necessary one for the growth of cereals.

Taking into consideration the poor quality of the grasses, and the enormous expanses covered with moss, lichen, and marshes, cattle-breeding as an industry is also impossible. As we shall see below, the efforts of the Russian Administration to develop cattle-breeding among the Russianized Maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the Okhotsk district — that is, in the more southern parts of the territory — has met with very little success.

The fur-trade cannot be regarded as a means of improving the general welfare of the natives, since, aside from the fact that the profits derived from it remain in the hands of unscrupulous traders, the number of fur-bearing animals is rapidly decreasing, owing to their ruthless destruction.

Fishing and the hunting of sea-mammals, as indicated above, can be carried on in the summer only; so that during the long winter the Maritime population have to depend exclusively upon their summer supplies.

Reindeer-breeding, though affording a more reliable source of sustenance to the wandering Reindeer people than that offered by hunting and fishing to the Maritime people, is still in a most primitive state. The type of a Reindeer household has so far remained unchanged, contact with Russian civilization for a century and a half not having exercised any influence upon it. This primitive state of the material life of the Koryak, left almost intact by outside influence, determines the primitive state of their mental culture.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY

231 the shedding of hair begins late and proceeds slowly. Only late in summer, in July or even in August, does the dog cast off the last spears of the old, dirty, and faded hair. A fat dog begins to shed hair as early as April, and is covered with new hair in June. Pups born in autumn also shed their hair late; while those born in spring, or even at the end of winter, do not shed hair at all during their first summer. In autumn all dogs are covered with thick, long, soft, and glossy hair. In winter the hair of the fur grows long and stiff; but the fine downy fur, which is the dog's chief protection against cold and winds, becomes thicker. In autumn the color of the fur becomes darker, but in dogs of light color it grows whiter. During winter the dog's fur fades; and by spring-time the dark colors become reddish or gray, while the light colors take on a yellowish tinge.

When the rivers freeze over and the ground is covered with snow, the dogs are caught and tied to the posts on which the storehouse rests. At the end of summer the dogs that during the summer had undertaken long hunting-excursions return of their own accord to their master's dwelling. During the first days they are fed very little, that they may lose fat. If a long journey is contemplated, they are not fed at all for two or three days. While travelling, they receive only dry food, which makes them light of foot. They are fed in the evening when the camp is made. Each dog usually gets a dry skeleton of a dog-salmon. Further, in the day-time, during rests on the journey, pieces of dried fish are thrown to the dogs. When at home, soup is cooked for them after they have rested. The feeding with soup described before usually takes place in the afternoon, towards evening. On the journey, when dry food only is given them, the dogs often eat snow to quench their thirst. A short time after the beginning of winter the dogs that are quiet and not given to pilfering are left at liberty. Only on the eve of a journey are they tied up, in order to economize their strength, so that they may be swift and enduring on the next day; but the dogs that eat straps, spoil leather wallets and clothes (which, however, all dogs do during times of starvation), and steal provisions, are kept tied up throughout the winter. To prevent the dogs from chewing the straps with which they are tied up, sticks about half a metre long, with holes at both ends, are used. Through these holes short straps are passed, whereby one end of the stick is tied to the dog-collar, while the other and longer strap is attached to the post or to a taut line running from post to post at a height twice or three times that of the dog. The dog can with its teeth get at the stick only, which does not interfere very much with its motions, and does not prevent it from lying down. These sticks are going out of use, and are replaced by imported iron chains.

825 It is believed that a strong occipital protuberance of a dog indicates strength and zeal. Besides this, draught-dogs of slow gait, and dogs for fast driving, are distinguished by their appearance. The former are said to have a broad chest, short and thick paws, and a large, comparatively short head.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R14 Koryak R14

Mollusks are gathered on the seashore and eaten by both the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak, but are not considered a particularly delicate food. They are gathered mainly when there is not enough fish and other sea-food. Evidently mollusks were formerly eaten to a much greater extent. In excavating ancient underground houses of the Maritime Koryak at the mouth of the river Nayakhan, on a rocky coast rising about sixty metres above the sea, I found piles of shells of the following species:[1] *Purpura saxicola*, *Mytilus edulis*, *Mya arenaria*, and *Littorina grandis*. The same species are in use at present. Fig. 110 shows a pick made of bone of whale, with which to pick mollusks out of the shell. It is called kɪ|kă'-kuna (from kɪ|kăk, the Koryak name for *Littorina grandis*).

Fig. 110 ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$). Bone Pick for extracting Shell-Fish from Shells. Length, 10 cm.

The Reindeer Koryak eat the larva of the reindeer-fly (*Œstrus tarandi* Nordenskiöld, or *Tabanus tarandinus* Slunin), which develops under the skin of the reindeer. In spring, when the larvæ creep out from beneath the skin and settle on the hair, the Koryak gather and eat them. Herdsmen gather larvæ in their caps and bring them home as a treat for the children.

Vegetable Food. — Vegetable food plays a lesser rôle among the Koryak than among the Kamchadal, but a greater one than among the Chukchee. We have already learned from the myths that the ancestor of the Koryak, Big-Raven, was fond of berries, edible roots and herbs, and pudding prepared from them.

Koryak women gather edible roots from the burrows of red-backed mice, of which two species (*Evotomys latastei* and *Ev. Wosnessenskii*) are found in the Gishiga region and in the northern part of Kamchatka. In autumn, when the mice have laid in their winter supplies of roots, their burrows are dug up by means of picks, specimens of which are represented in Fig. 111; *a* representing an ancient form of root-digger, with a bone point tied to a wooden bow-shaped handle; while *b* shows the recent type, with an iron point, but preserving its former shape and the manner of attaching the point to the handle.

In locating the burrows of mice, aid is given by dogs which the women take along. The mice are in the habit of cleaning the roots of adhering particles of soil, and of placing them in rows in underground passages. It is deemed a sin to take away all the stores of a mouse. A small part of the supplies should be left. Besides, the burrows are not dug up late in the fall, that the mice may have ample opportunity to replenish their ravaged storerooms. I also found a belief current among the Koryak, widespread among other tribes of northeastern Siberia, that, on finding their storerooms emptied, the mice resort to suicide by hanging themselves in the crotches of branches.

[1] Identified by Dr. Louis P. Gratacap.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the animals are imperfectly made, although these carvings represent the work of the best artists. It should be said, however, that the unmounted animal carvings could not stand if the feet were made properly. To give them greater stability, the feet of the two sheep (*e*, *f*) are not entirely separated. On the other hand, the flippers of the sea-lions on the ice-floe, which serves as a stand (*a*), are finished very vividly as compared with those of the single sea-lion without stand (*d*). On the whole, however, the position and the motion of the animals of the carvings are rendered with such realism as to call forth vividly its picture in the mind of the spectator, and they testify to the great skill and æsthetic taste of the artist.

In comparison with these specimens, the carvings of Chukchee artists are of far inferior artistic merit.[1] Even more inferior than these specimens are the Eskimo carvings of animals made at different places, and obtained by different collectors, although the nature of the Eskimo carvings, and the method of working them, are exactly the same as those of the Chukchee and Koryak.[2]

Among the Koryak carvings we do not find, for reasons which are perfectly apparent, any figures of the polar bear; but we do find them among the Chukchee;[3] and it is remarkable that the Chukchee carvings of this animal, judging from the specimens reproduced by Bogoras, are distinguished by the same artistic faults as those made by the Eskimo. Without explicit description, it is difficult to recognize the polar bear in the Eskimo carvings intended to represent that animal.

The walrus and seal are very vividly reproduced in Koryak carvings; but the figures of whales are lifeless, and resemble very much the Eskimo carvings of whales (compare, for instance, the wooden whale in Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72, with the Eskimo figures of whales).[4] However, the whale reproduced on p. 72 is made for a religious ceremony; and carvings made for religious purposes are, as I have said, inferior to those made for æsthetic purposes. This becomes especially clear when comparing, for instance, the realistic figure of a bear in the carving in Fig. 175, *b*, with the crude wooden bear made for a festival on the occasion of a bear-hunt.[5] Artistic carvings are produced only by men endowed with special skill and with a leaning towards art, while religious carvings are made by any Koryak.

Fig. 176 represents fishes, a worm, and a grasshopper. Three of these (*a*, *d*, and *e*) are made from walrus-tusk, one (*b*) from mammoth-ivory, one (*c*)

[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plates XIX on dash XXI.

[2] Compare Boas, Central Eskimo, Plate IX, opp. p. 653; Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 113. See also Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, pp. 398–401; Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, pp. 345, 346; E. Bessels, Die amerikanische Nordpol-Expedition, p. 108.

[3] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XX, Fig. 4.

[4] See Murdoch, p. 403, Fig. 407; Boas, Central Eskimo, Plate VIII, opp. p. 652.

[5] See Part I, Fig. 39, p. 88.

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from bone of whale. All of these carvings were made on the shore of Bering Sea. The one shown in *d* is especially vivid. Fig. 176, *a*, judging by the fin on the back, near the tail (evidently the adipose fin) represents a fish of the family *Salmonoidæ*, probably *Salmo lagocephalus*. The fish is ornamented with engraved dots and lines painted black, similar to the etchings of the Eskimo, especially those of Alaska; but they are made with more idea of symmetry. We find similar ornamentations in the carvings of the Kerek and Chukchee. Fig. 176, *c*, represents a flounder. The tail and the fins are

Fig. 176. Ivory and Bone Carvings representing animals. *a* ($\frac{7}{11}$), Salmon (length, 6.6 cm.); *b* ($\frac{3}{2}$), Fish (length, 5.6 cm.); *c* ($\frac{3}{1}$), Flounder (length, 3.5 cm.); *d* ($\frac{3}{1}$), Caterpillar (length, 4.7 cm.); *e* ($\frac{3}{1}$), Grasshopper (length, 4.2 cm.).

indicated by small engraved lines; and the entire body is covered with dots on the front, while on the back the ornamentation consists of a herring-bone pattern running from head to tail. An exactly similar flounder is contained among the Koryak carvings of the Museum of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, where there is also to be found another specimen without dots.[1] A similar figure of a flounder with dots is in the Eskimo collection of E. W. Nelson, made in Alaska.[2]

Fig. 177 represents carvings of birds. All of them were made near Bering Sea, and *a* and *c* are carved from walrus-tusk; *b*, from mammoth-ivory. Fig. 177, *a*, represents a sea-bird, probably a cormorant. The neck and head of the bird are life-like, but the wings are not indicated; and there are no feet, the bird being represented as sitting on the water. As a rule, the common way in which the Koryak represent birds in their carvings is to make them appear in a floating or sitting position, so as to avoid the necessity of making the feet: another way is to represent them soaring with outstretched wings. Little figures of birds are carved by children from various materials. Near Penshina Bay they are made from reindeer-antler and mountain-sheep horn, also from birch-wood or roots of the stone-pine.

In the Koryak collection of the American Museum of Natural History there are a large number of small carvings of water-birds, birds of prey, and

[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXII, Figs. 15, 16.
[2] See Hoffman, The Graphic Art of the Eskimo, Plate LVII, Fig. 1.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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others. There are also wooden partridges with well-defined wings. Some of the carvings representing birds are ornamented with black dots, like some Eskimo carvings of birds.[1] Turner mentions a collection of carvings of water-birds made from ivory by the Eskimo of Hudson Bay, mainly identical in type with the similar carvings of the Koryak and Chukchee, but not ornamented with incised designs.[2]

According to Professor Boas, the Central Eskimo use carvings — some representing birds, others men or women — in a game similar to dice, which

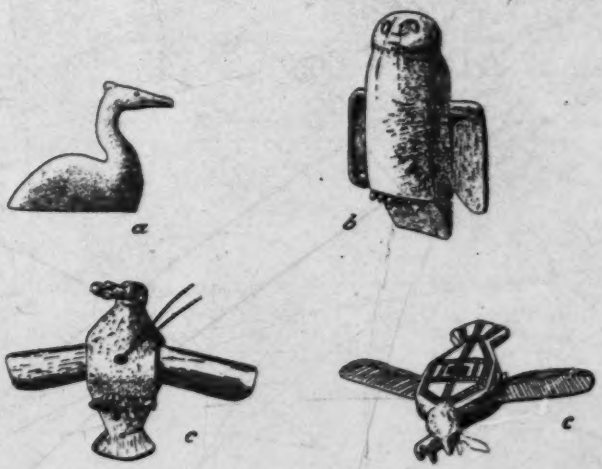

Fig. 177. Ivory Carvings representing Birds. *a* ($\frac{7}{11}\frac{8}{9}$), Swimming Cormorant (height, 3 cm.); *b* ($\frac{5}{11}\frac{1}{7}$), Hawk (height, 7 cm.); *c* ($\frac{7}{11}\frac{1}{17}$), Eagle with Movable Wings (height, 5 cm.).

they call "images of birds."[3] Murdoch obtained a collection of carvings representing birds and a wolf from the Asiatic Eskimo at Plover Bay. The carvings were supposed to be merely works of art, but Murdoch admits that the Asiatic Eskimo also use them for games.[4] Turner, on the other hand, remarks about his collection of ivory carvings representing birds made by the Labrador Eskimo, that he never heard of their being used in games.[2] Nor have I ever heard of the Koryak using bird carvings in games.

The nature of the carvings in Fig. 177, *b*, *c*, makes them less realistic than the miniature carvings representing birds. The introduction of claws as a substitute for feet seems to me to be the first step in the process of con-

[1] See Boas, Central Eskimo, Fig. 522, p. 567; Nelson, Fig. 135, p. 342; Murdoch, Fig. 364, p. 365.
[2] See Turner, The Hudson Bay Eskimo, Fig. 83, p. 260.
[3] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, Fig. 522, p. 567.
[4] See Murdoch, p. 365.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

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ventionalization of the plastic art, which developed among the Indians of the North Pacific coast. Moreover, the tail, wings, and body in Fig. 177, *b*, representing a mouse-hawk, are much inferior in their realism and artistic finish to most of the Koryak carvings. Fig. 177, *c*, represents an eagle with a fish in its talons, and in the beak a little animal, the hind part of which is broken off. This figure served as a mechanical toy; it has detachable wings, which are made to move by means of a thread. This made it difficult for the artist to observe realism in making his figure. The upper side of the figure is ornamented by etched designs; the wings, by lines indicating feathers; and the back and tail, by dots and squares, — the conventional way of representing the body and tail of a bird.

Fig. 178 represents carvings which differ in material, and were made in different places. The one in *a* was made in the settlement of Shestakovo

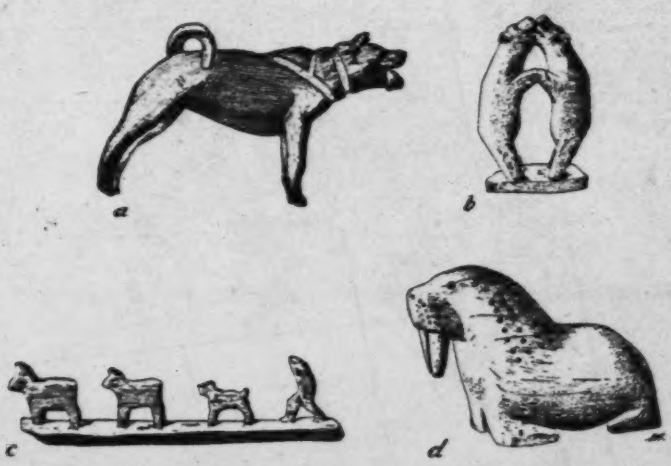

Fig. 178. *a* ($\frac{7}{8}\frac{8}{9}$), Wood-Carving representing a Dog (height, 7 cm.); *b* ($\frac{7}{8}\frac{8}{8}$), Carving made of Antler, representing Wrestling Bears (height, 3 cm.); *c* ($\frac{8}{9}\frac{8}{8}$), Carving in Mountain-Sheep Horn, representing Sheep and Hunter (length, 7.3 cm.); *d* ($\frac{8}{9}\frac{8}{7}$), Ivory Carving representing Walrus (height, 4.5 cm.).

(Penshina Bay), from wood, and the work is well done. The tense posture of the dog in harness, with tail curved upward in expectation of the start, is quite vivid, but the rigid feet are not well executed. The dog is painted black. The carving marked *b*, a pair of wrestling bears, was made in Paren (Penshina Bay), from reindeer-antler. Wrestling bears are a favorite subject among Koryak artists, but near Bering Sea they are carved from walrus-tusk with greater skill. In our collection there are two bears in the act of coition, made from wood, and carved with great realism. The specimen shown in *c* was made from mountain-sheep horn, in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay). On a

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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common mounting we have two mountain-sheep pursued by a dog and a man. The latter figure has its head broken off. Its feet display motion, but this cannot be said of the other figures in the group. In *d* is represented a walrus in sitting position, made at Opuka (Bering Sea), from walrus-tusk. Although the upper part of the body is very realistic, the carvings made from walrus-tusk along Bering Sea are generally more artistic. This specimen is of interest in that it is ornamented with dots in Eskimo fashion. Such ornamentation is very seldom found on the carvings from the coast of Penshina Bay.

Specimens of carvings of animal groups and hunting-scenes have been shown in Fig. 175 *a* and Fig. 178 *c*. Figs. 179 and 180 represent specimens of small carvings of more complex groups, which do not serve any practical purpose, and must therefore be classed with art pure and simple. The most interesting feature of these carved groups is the absence of bas-relief. The mounting serves simply as a base for the group, which is carved out of one piece with the former; or the groups form high-reliefs (Fig. 179, *b*). However, I have also seen bas-relief carvings in which the figures were raised less than half their height above the base. Among these carvings, certain groups represent some household or hunting scene; others, as in Fig. 179, *a*, a free combination of several scenes having nothing in common. This specimen represents on one side a man aiming his gun at a bear; on the other side, a man getting into a hand-to-hand fight with a bear; and in the middle, a rock with a bird sitting on it. This group is carved from walrus-tusk, and was obtained by me in Paren (Penshina Bay), but was made at Poqa'č (Bering Sea). The high-relief carving shown in *b* comes from the settlement of Levatt (Penshina Bay), and is made from stone-pine. On the right hand is shown a whale pursued by hunters in a skin boat. The edge of the boat was broken off accidentally in working the brittle wood with a knife. The form of the boat, the prow being narrower than the stern, shows that it is of the type of the upper part of Penshina Bay. On the left side is shown a ground-seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) on an ice-floe, and two hunters stealthily approaching, — one in a skin boat, and the other in a dug-out. The hunters have hunting-hoods on their heads, which make

Fig. 179. *a* ($\frac{1}{11}\frac{1}{13}$), *b* ($\frac{1}{11}\frac{1}{13}$). Ivory and Wood Carvings representing Hunting-Scenes. Length, 14 cm., 20.5 cm.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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them resemble the heads of seals. The carvings do not show any oars, either in the large skin boat or in the small boat. The middle of the high-relief carving represents a bear approaching a ringed-seal (*Phoca hispida*), which was evidently left on the ground by the receding tide.

Fig. 180, *a*, represents a large skin boat with oarsmen, and is carved from walrus-tusk. It was obtained in the settlement of Big Itkana (Penshina

a *b*

Fig. 180. Ivory Carvings. *a* ($\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{5}$), Boat (length, 8 cm.); *b* ($\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{9}$), Walrus and Hunters (length, 9.5 cm.).

Bay). According to the Koryak, it was made in that settlement; but it is very strange that the shape of the boat, the prow being wider than the stern, should resemble the Koryak skin boat of Bering Sea. This is shown by the position of the man at the stern and the four oarsmen sitting with their faces toward the stern. A child is shown sitting in the bottom of the boat, near the stern. Fig. 180, *b*, is a carving made at Opuka (Bering Sea), from walrus-tusk, and represents an ice-floe with six walrus on it, and two hunters close by, their guns resting on supports and levelled. The seal-skin boat of the hunters, with the broad prow of the Bering Sea type, is also on the ice-floe.

Fig. 181 shows a carving of walrus-tusk from Paren (Penshina Bay), and represents a sledge drawn by six dogs, with the driver and his whip, the

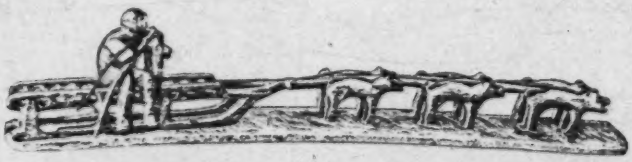

Fig. 181 ($\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{5}$). Ivory Carving representing 9-Dog-Sledge. Length, 21.5 cm.

latter serving as a brake. The sledge, dog, harness, and base are all carved from one piece, while the driver and his whip are carved separately. It is interesting to compare the driver of this sledge with an Eskimo figure (made of ivory)[1] from Point Barrow, representing a man in sitting position. Both carvings are very much alike.

Fig. 182, carved from walrus-tusk at Paren (Penshina Bay), is a specimen

[1] See Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, Fig. 394, p. 396.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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of architectural carving, and represents a dwelling of the Maritime Koryak before it is covered with earth.[1] On the roof is seen a man coming up the ladder through the opening. One of the poles is mounted with the head of a sacrificial dog, and next to it is the spear with which the dog was stabbed.

Fig. 183 represents a model of a dog-sledge with a ten-dog team and the driver. This model was made by a Russo-Koryak half-breed by the name of Fletcher. He was born in the Russianized Koryak settlement Yamsk,[2] and is now engaged in trading at Gishiginsk. He owes his American name to the fact that when his father or grandfather was baptized, a Russianized American who had settled at Tighil in Kamchatka acted as his godfather.

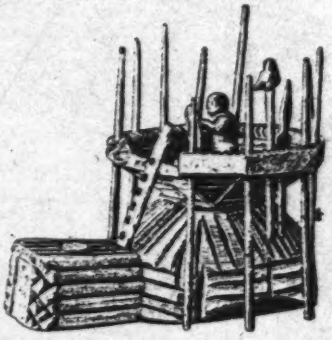

Fig. 182 (1/1½). Ivory Carving representing a House. Height, 11 cm.

The skilfully finished model of the sledge is made of birch-wood; and the dogs, of stone-pine. The way the dog-carvings are finished reveals an artistic talent of high order. The artist has not only put life and motion into the wood-carvings, but has skilfully rendered the different postures of the dogs as determined by the temper of each animal, the phase of its motion, or other factors. Thus the forward pair of dogs are made with tails hanging down. Being the leaders, they are intent upon following the trail pointed out by the driver by shouts,[3] to which the dogs are listening. The drooping tails indicate fatigue or intense strain on the part of the dogs. The hindmost pair of dogs are also characteristic. Usually the lazy dogs are put next to the sledge, so that they can be more

Fig. 183 (1/11½). Wood-Carving representing a Dog-Sledge. Length, 70 cm.

easily reached by the whip. One of the dogs in the last pair, fearing the whip, is pulling very conscientiously, as is shown by its lowered head. The other dog is turning its head on the run towards the driver, to make sure that he is not harboring any evil designs against it.

Of course, this carving cannot be considered as primitive Koryak. Fletcher, being able to read, had seen specimens of art of civilized nations in the

[1] For a description of dwellings see pp. 453–461. [2] See p. 436. [3] See p. 505.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

drawings of illustrated magazines, which may have influenced him; but his skill and his native artistic instinct were inherited by him from Koryak ancestors.

In explanation of Fig. 183, I should add that the dog-harnesses, central line, and the lashings of the sledge, were made by Fletcher of leather. For the figure of the driver he made a wooden head with a face showing very well the Koryak type. The figure is dressed like other Koryak dolls.

Household Articles ornamented with Carved Figures. — I have stated before that carvings were less frequently of practical use among the Koryak than among the Eskimo. Nevertheless small household articles ornamented with carved figures of men and animals, such as we find among the Eskimo, are also to be found among them. Figs. 184 and 185 are reproductions of such articles.

Fig. 184, *a*, is a dipper made from alder-wood in the settlement of Big Itkana (Penshina Bay). The handle of the dipper shows a carving representing

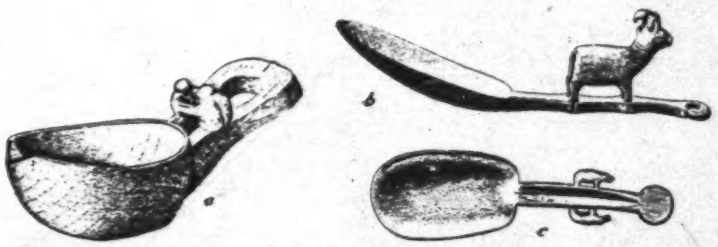

Fig. 184. Carved Dipper and Spoons. *a* ($\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$). Dipper with Carving representing Wrestlers (length, 16.5 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$). Spoon with Carving representing Mountain-Goat (length, 25 cm.); *c* ($\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$). Spoon with Carving representing Two Bears (length, 14.5 cm.).

two wrestlers. Only the upper parts of the bodies are shown. Fig. 184, *b*, represents a spoon made on the shores of Bering Sea, from the horn of mountain-sheep. Fig. 184, *c*, was made from mountain-sheep horn in Alutor (Bering Sea). The handle is ornamented with carvings representing two bears.

Among small articles ornamented with carved animals, our collection contains also belt-clasps with the figures of two seals, and a pipe with the figure of a seal, made from walrus-tusk in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay).

Fig. 185 is also a reproduction of specimens of carvings made for ornamental purposes. That marked *a* represents a snow-beater made from antler of wild reindeer by a Reindeer Koryak of the Opuka River, and is ornamented with a carved head of a mountain-sheep; *b* represents an awl used by women in ornamenting their dress with slit-embroidery.[1] The handle of the awl was carved from wood in Big Itkana (Penshina Bay), and the orna-

[1] See p. 679.

11: Kennan--216 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 233, 432, 825 Reindeer

"Among the many superstitions of the Wandering Koraks and Chookchees, one of the most noticeable is their reluctance to part with a living reindeer. You may purchase as many dead deer as you choose, up to five hundred, for about seventy cents apiece; but a living deer they will not give to you for love nor money. You may offer them what they consider a fortune in tobacco, copper kettles, beads, and scarlet cloth, for a single live reindeer, but they will persistently refuse to sell him; yet, if you will allow them to kill the very same animal, you can have his carcass for one small string of common glass beads. It is useless to argue with them about this absurd superstition. You can get no reason for it or explanation of it, except that 'to sell a live reindeer would be "atkin"—bad.' As it was very necessary in the construction of our proposed telegraph line to have trained reindeer of our own, we offered every conceivable inducement to the Koraks to part with one single deer; but all our efforts were in vain. They could sell us a hundred dead deer for a hundred pounds of tobacco; but five hundred pounds would not tempt them to part with a single animal as long as the breath of life was in his body. During the two years and a half which we spent in Siberia, no one of our parties, so far as I know, ever succeeded in buying from the Koraks or Chookchees a single living reindeer. All the deer which we eventually owned—some eight hundred—we obtained from the Wandering Tungoos."

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

sea hunting with reindeer-breeding. The remaining 7 groups of Koryaks—the Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy, Apukintsy, Kereks, Karagintsy and Palantsy—also maintained complex economies, with one or another occupation predominating.

Koryak reindeer-breeding was of two types. The first type—the keeping of large herds—existed among the Chavchuvens. In the early part of the 20th century, a small group of reindeer-breeders owned large herds, accounting for up to 80% of the total number of head. In the area of the Penzhina River, some reindeer-breeders owned 2-3 herds, adding up to as many as 10,000 reindeer. The pasturing of the large herds owned by the rich Koryaks was done by poor Koryaks who owned only a few reindeer or none at all, and were compelled to tend their master's herds in exchange for food and clothing.

The reindeer provided the principal item of the reindeer-breeders' diet—meat, and the basic material for clothing and housing—hides, as well as tendons, of which thread was made. At the same time, the reindeer was to the reindeer-breeders the sole means of transportation. Hence, the entire life of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks was adapted to the demands of their basic occupation. In winter, the herd grazed near the encampment. As soon as the pasture was exhausted, the master drove out in a light sled, similar to that of the Chukchi and harnessed to a pair of deer, to search for another pasture. After that, the entire camp migrated to the new site, and the herdsmen drove the herd to the new pasture. Such migrations took place 4-5 times during the winter. In the spring, before the calving (in April), the females were separated from the rest of the herd. Calving time (May) was the hardest period for the reindeer-breeders. The newborn calves had to be protected from predators—wolves, foxes, wolverines and ravens, and also kept from freezing. At this time, the herdsmen had no rest either by day or by night. They were helped by members of their families, and even old men and children took part in guarding the herd in encampments where the human population was small. Afterwards, the herdsmen drove the herds for the whole summer into the mountains, which abounded in pasturelands. The correct choice of the summer pasture determined the welfare of the herd for the entire year. Summer pasturing required from the reindeer-breeder great skill, experience, and knowledge of the tundra and the reindeer's requirements. The encampment was situated at this period in a summer site, usually on the bank of a river abounding in fish. In autumn (at the end of September and beginning of October), the herdsmen brought the herd to the encampment. Meeting of the herd—one of the principal holidays of the reindeer-breeders—was attended by numerous rituals. After the first snow, the herd and the camp migrated to the winter range.

The herding was done without dogs, which the Koryak reindeer-breeders did not use. Nimble feet, alert eyes and a leather lasso requiring great skill of the herdsmen—these were the means at his disposal to protect the herd from snowstorms and wolves in winter, from foxes and ravens in spring, during the calving season, and from mosquitoes and gnats in summer.

Another type of reindeer-breeding—that of small herds—existed among the Alyutortsy Koryaks. More than 50% of all the Alyutortsy kept reindeer, but few had herds as large as 1000 head. A characteristic feature of Alyutor reindeer-breeding was the use of dogs as the principal sled animals. Each household had one, two, three or more teams. Reindeer were used only for short trips without loads.

This type of reindeer-breeding was usually combined with sea hunting and fishing. All the Alyutortsy, with rare exceptions, went out on sea hunts, especially in spring, when they hunted on drifting ice floes. In summer,

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

764

Preparations for burning a corpse.

756 pronounced in succession the names of the dead ancestors until the stone
787 shook at the sound of the name. Then the family felt that the name had been
553 guessed, and it was given to the newborn.

The reindeer-breeding and the sedentary Koryaks held various seasonal
796 celebrations. The main holiday of the reindeer-breeders was the spring
184 kil'vey—the festival of horns. It was celebrated after the calving, when the
22 herd was brought to the encampment. The people brought out of their dwellings bowls with pieces of meat and the sacred wooden fire-making device which they proceeded to "feed." In autumn, they celebrated the festival of the autumn deer slaughter. This festival was also attended by shamanistic performances, sacrifices, and the "feeding" of the wooden fire-maker. The coastal hunters celebrated the festival of floating the baydar in the spring, at the beginning of the spring hunting season. At this time they sacrificed dogs. After the celebration, they opened the summer entrance to the semi-dugout. After the closing of the autumn sea hunting season (in November) the coastal Koryaks held the "seal festival" (in olden times it was the "whale festival"). The participants in the celebration pleaded with the animals killed during the hunt to return to the sea and let themselves be caught again next year, and also to bring along their relatives with them. The dead
773 animals were replaced by zoomorphic representations made of seaweed.

The creator of men and the universe, according to Koryak beliefs, was An'an' or Etyny. However, when man was being created, the harmful being, Nen'vetgyyn'yn, intervened. It took out the hard hearts of the first men and substituted clay hearts; this led to all the weaknesses, diseases and misfortunes among men.

● 825 The Koryaks regarded wolves as their relatives (some sources also name
(784 the bear). The wolf was described as a shaman animal. Even in the 20th century, many Alyutortsy strictly observed the taboo on killing wolves, which, of course, had an extremely adverse effect on their reindeer-breeding.
764 The Koryaks burned the bodies of their dead.

Folk Arts

773 The Koryaks had a cycle of myths closely akin to those of the Chukchi and Itel'mens, and similar to the Eskimos'. The principal character of these myths is the raven-creator (in Koryak, Kuykynnyaku or Kutkynnyaku) which, according to the beliefs of these peoples, gave people all their material goods: he gave men reindeer and dogs, and taught them reindeer-breeding, fishing, sea hunting, and the use of dog transportation. In some of the myths, the image of the raven is fused with the image of the Etyny. But most